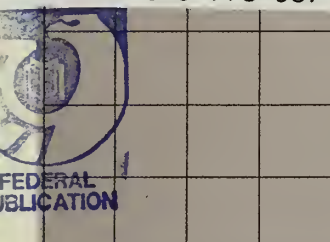




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# Federal Archeology Report

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## The Hidden Heritage of Africa's Descendants

**F**OR MANY YEARS, regardless of the culture studied, archeologists tended to focus on those in power. Buildings, roads, and monuments were seen as evidence of the social and political elite, not as the imprint of those who actually made them.

Over the past two decades, a sea change in this view—abetted by links with other disciplines—has inspired a new look at America's peoples of African descent. Consequently, researchers of all kinds are confronting the constraints of the written record. As Leland Ferguson says in *Uncommon Ground: Archeology and Early African America*, "Unfortunately we cannot look directly at early African American communities. Historical documents help, but are heavily skewed toward the white side of plantation life. The archeological record is more democratic."

The new perspective, which weds archeology with archival research and oral history, is bringing together archeologists, related professionals, and the public itself in a quest for cultural identity that binds the past with the present and future. In his article, Warren Barbour shows the process from the inside, viewing the excavation of Manhattan's 18th century African burial ground from his perspective as an African American archeologist.

*Ploughing Cotton, Columbus, Ga.*



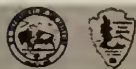
Children work a cotton field with overseers at the ends of the rows. From *Beneath These Waters: Archeological and Historical Studies of 11,500 Years Along the Savannah River*.

The change has spawned other connections as well. American archeologists are beginning to work with peers in Africa to expand the limits of looking at evidence cut off from its root. Archeologist Pat Garrow, for example, examines the vanishing culture of Africans in the Revolutionary War era. Many are calling for more study of these trans-Atlantic ties.

Especially given the sparse archeological record. With few possessions,

even in the post-Civil War era, African Americans have left a fleeting and fragile image of their presence on the landscape.

Ultimately, the new approach confronts questions that transcend the concerns of any one group. What is sacred? Who defines it? Do the remains of past cultures merit protection by law? Which ones? The issues are universal, whether one's ancestry is Asian, European, or African.



## F O R U M

## More Than Cops and Robbers

Francis P. McManamon

Departmental Consulting Archeologist  
Chief, Archeological Assistance  
National Park Service

A recent controversy has been swirling around a Federal "sting" of artifact looters in the Southwest (see the September/October 1993 *Archaeology* and the letters to the editor in the January/February 1994 issue). Some criticize undercover operations like this one as entrapment by overzealous law officers. The officials in this case are quite capable of justifying their actions; that is not my intent here. Rather, I want to focus on the fact that such activities are only one of many means for protecting our archeological heritage.

Enforcement of the criminal and civil penalty sections of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act is essential to save our heritage from wanton destruction. Some people, fortunately only a small number overall, consider archeological sites to be places from which they should be allowed to extract artifacts for profit or personal satisfaction. While a very small percentage of these artifacts may have commercial value, the vast majority do not. The greater value of a site is the information it holds. That information can be extracted only through careful, often painstaking, scientific excavation, recording, and analysis.

It is clear that the vast majority of Americans are law-abiding when it comes to archeological resource protection law, as they are with all other laws. Once the public is made aware that it is illegal to disturb or collect material from sites on public land, they are more than willing to conform.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, archeological sites on Federal and tribal land have been protected for the scientific and educational benefit of all Americans. Recent years also have seen the recognition of some sites as the final resting place of Native Americans and others. As burial places, protecting these places from looters takes on additional importance.

Public agencies employ a wide repertoire of tools to protect these sites. Law enforcement officers from the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Indian tribes, and state and local governments patrol these properties and promote their preservation through interpretation programs, signs, and publications. Agencies remind visitors of the legal protection afforded the sites, encouraging them to tread lightly and to report any looting and vandalism. U.S. attorneys and Federal judges also work for protection when they prosecute offenders and hand down judgements.

These examples are only the most visible means of getting the protection message across. Behind the scenes, agencies, officials, and preservation organizations employ a range of interpretive programs and media. Recent surveys by the National Park Service identified over 2,000 of these initiatives, from public lectures to brochures to classroom exercises. For archeologists, public outreach has come to the fore, whether they are employed by

public agencies, museums, or academic institutions. In fact, these activities are widely seen as essential to the long-term protection and preservation of sites.

One of the specific challenges facing professional archeologists these days is developing programs that provide opportunities for people who have more than a casual interest in archeology, but do not wish to pursue a career in it. Such programs, by offering opportunities to participate in legitimate, sound archeological activities, are another means of accomplishing protection and preservation goals. Several public agencies and half a dozen nationally known educational or research organizations now provide opportunities for members of the general public to take part in careful, professionally supervised excavations. Increasingly, programs supported by local and regional governments employ interested community members as a motivated volunteer force to accomplish resource interpretation, protection, and preservation. Information about these activities is summarized in the brochure *Participate in Archeology*, available from a number of public agencies.

It is unfair and misleading to characterize the enforcement of laws that protect archeological sites as "cops and robbers." In fact, agency efforts are broad and deep, involving a great deal of public education and participation—coupled with an array of law enforcement initiatives—to protect America's archeological heritage.



# The Remains of a Vanished Culture

PATRICK H. GARROW

**T**HE MOST COMPLETE and unbiased archive of African American history lies in the ground. Through sites of all periods and types, this evidence in many cases is the only direct historical statement African Americans have left for posterity.

Almost without exception, the written record of the pre-Civil War period was not compiled by African Americans. This is particularly true in the South, where prior to the Civil War some states even made it illegal to teach African Americans to read and write. Such institutionalized illiteracy means that prior to 1865 their history survives mainly through oral accounts.

African American archeology in the United States dates to at least the early 1940s, when Adelaide K. and Ripley P. Bullen excavated the Black Lucy's Garden site in Andover, MA, occupied from 1815 to 1845. Encountered by accident, it remained one of the very few African American sites studied by archeologists until the 1970s.

The modern study of African American archeology essentially began with the work of the late Charles Fairbanks and his students at the University of Florida in the early 1970s. Fairbanks was interested in detecting surviving African traits in the form of either specific artifacts or other elements. Fairbanks and his students, who shared his interest, focused much of their attention on plantations along the southern Georgia coast, which dated primarily to the 19th century. Although their search went largely unrewarded, the work did provide much of the foundation for later research.

A major breakthrough came in 1980, with Leland Ferguson's seminal article "Looking for the 'Afro' in Colonial Indian Pottery." That piece—part of a larger work entitled *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, edited by Robert L. Schuyler—offered

an excellent summary of research on ethnicity in archeology.

Ferguson's article came when historical archeologists were beginning to focus on the South Carolina coast as a result of construction projects mandating archeological investigations. I was directing the largest of these projects, with Thomas R. Wheaton as field director and Amy Friedlander as historian, for a consulting firm contracted by the National Park Service. The purpose of the investigation was to excavate slave quarters attached to Yaughan and Curriboo plantations, which faced destruction from the building of the planned Cooper River Rediversion Canal. The plantations contained three slave quarters occupied from approximately 1740 to 1826, sites that proved critical to understanding the early history and cultural change endured by enslaved African Americans in coastal South Carolina.

Yaughan and Curriboo, both located in the same area in Berkeley County, had been settled by descendants of French Huguenots. One of the slave quarters dated from the 1740s to the 1790s, another from the 1740s to shortly after 1800, and a third from shortly after the Revolutionary War to the 1820s. Although our research revealed that the historical record dealt mainly with the Euro-American plantation owners, we did learn that the population of slaves, all African Americans, was stable over time.

**B**ERKELEY COUNTY was overwhelmingly African American prior to the Revolutionary War, but afterwards there was a large influx of Euro-Americans. Before the war, the slaves apparently lived with minimal interference, but when the conflict ended the Euro-Americans began to exert far more direct control.

Thereafter the lives of the residents proved to be very different. Prior to the war, they made most of their own pottery, which was identical to African American ware found in many parts of the Caribbean from the same time period. That pottery, called "colonoware," appeared to be a direct link with West Africa, as evidenced by both its form and method of manufacture. It was used for cooking as well as for serving food.

**T**HE YAUGHAN and Curriboo excavations offered the first irrefutable proof that colonoware was actually made by African American slaves. The evidence also documented the demise of its manufacture and use as plantation residents began to adopt iron cooking pots and English-made ceramics after the war. The slaves also began to use pottery made by Native Americans, notably Catawbans. Both types of colonoware were found in the later slave quarters.

The lives of the residents changed in other ways. Before the conflict, slaves lived in houses either identical to or inspired by West African architecture. These buildings, which had mud walls and presumably thatched roofs, were evidenced by the survival of foundation holes called wall trenches (after the war, frame houses were built with in-ground posts).

The abandonment of colonoware and mud-walled huts after the war, which coincided with stricter control by Euro-Americans, symbolizes a distinct change in the culture of the African Americans. That change probably took place over a single generation, leading to a near total loss of African and African-Caribbean culture.

The archive unearthed at Yaughan and Curriboo clearly shows that

strong elements of that culture survived for a long time on the South Carolina coast. The investigations also indicate that its loss was directly related to the Euro-Americans.

Colonoware pottery was made and used on a large scale in both Virginia and South Carolina and it may be assumed that African Americans throughout the South once shared African or African-Caribbean social traits. More recent research, however, indicates that some of the African or Afri-

can-Caribbean traits noted at Yaughan and Curriboo were not present or were rare elsewhere in the South. Although the remains of mud-walled huts have been found at other Berkeley County sites (at Spiers Landing by Leslie Drucker and Ron Anthony and at Lesene Plantation by Martha Zeirden, Leslie Drucker, and Jeanne Calhoun), little or no evidence of them has been found outside the county.

African American archeology is still in its infancy. Many more projects like

Yaughan and Curriboo need to address the question of how the culture of the slaves changed before this facet of American history can be fully understood.

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## From Cradle to Grave

SHARYN KANE AND RICHARD KEETON

*The following article is excerpted from Beneath These Waters: Archeological and Historical Studies of 11,500 Years Along the Savannah River, published by the Southeast Region Interagency Archeological Services Division, National Park Service, in association with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The book is based on extensive archeological and historical research of a 28-mile stretch of land now submerged by the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake, about 65 miles north of Augusta, GA. The building of the dam, and the mandated study of its environs, brought together hundreds of archeologists and other investigators. This excerpt focuses on the era of slavery in the region.*

**C**OTTON'S REIGN exacted an inestimable human price with its dependence on the free labor of slaves, many of whom spent their entire lives in bondage and were physically abused. Without this forced toil—often carried out from sunrise to sunset with only the briefest respites—plantation owners likely would never have been so successful.

But owning slaves was by no means restricted to wealthy planters with thousands of acres. Even farmers with much less land were attracted to slavery and the dollars cotton could bring.

Steadily, from 1810 to 1850, more and more farmers entered into slave holding in the four counties comprising the Russell Reservoir area, a situation repeated throughout the South.

Work began for most slaves by age seven when they started to tote water to workers in the fields and pick up stones in the way of plows. Until then, children wore little clothing, only an old guano or corn meal bag or tow linen shirt and nothing else. By age 10

or 12, children stopped performing the lighter tasks and assumed adult work, although their output wasn't expected to be as great. Planters measured how much work a slave could do against the productivity of a healthy male hand, and children might be considered "quarter hands" under this gauge.

Slaves were grouped into three categories—field hands, house servants, and skilled craftsmen, such as blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters. Overlap-



After the Civil War, former slave families became tenants at Millwood Plantation, which stretched in a band on both sides of the Savannah River bordering Georgia and South Carolina. From *Beneath These Waters*.





Millwood Plantation, which belonged to James Edward Calhoun, descendant of early South Carolina farmers. Erosion from poor farming practices common to the region is visible in the foreground. From *Beneath These Waters*.

ping responsibilities were not uncommon, however, depending on the slaveowner's needs. The lowest rung was field hand and comprised the majority. Field hands included men, women, and children who worked side by side.

A field hand's duties depended on the seasons, and revolved around planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops. Farmers with only a few slaves often worked along with them in the fields, while wealthier planters tended to organize labor into gangs with an overseer or slave driver in control. The overseer's responsibility was to force maximum effort out of everyone. Demanding that a field hand pick 300 pounds of cotton in a single day was not unusual, and any who failed were subject to lashing with a whip on many plantations and farms.

In fact, cruelty and physical punishment were common for any number of infractions, according to Austin Steward, a slave for 22 years: "I must first say that it is not true that slave owners are respected for kindness to their slaves. The more tyrannical a master is, the more will he be favorably regarded by his neighboring planters; and from the day that he acquires the reputation of a kind and indulgent master, he is looked upon with suspicion, and sometimes hatred, and his slaves are watched more closely than before."

**F**IELD HANDS weren't the only ones subject to abuse. Steward recalled house servants suffering at the hands of the mistress, whom he described as a "great scold": "con-

tinually finding fault with some of the servants, and frequently punishing the young slaves herself, by striking them over the head with a heavy iron key, until the blood ran; or else whipping them with a cowhide, which she always kept by her side. The older servants she would cause to be punished by having them severely whipped by a man, which she never failed to do for every trifling fault."

Slaves depended on masters for even the most basic needs—food, clothing, and shelter. Adequately meeting those requirements to protect his investment was in the slaveholder's best interest. But he also had a competing objective of keeping costs low. Most resolved the conflict by providing the least subsistence possible, housing slaves in flimsy





The blacksmith was a skilled craftsman and therefore a more valuable slave than field hands, which included young women and children. From *Beneath These Waters*.

structures the servants were forced to build for themselves, clothing them in the cheapest fabrics slave women were often required to sew, and feeding them small amounts of the poorest food which was rationed by the day or week.

Most Southern slave dwellings, including those in the reservoir boundaries, were small. These houses consisted of single or double rooms built of logs, which were commonly available on the plantation because trees needed to be cleared to make way for fields. Also, log houses required the least effort to build, which was important because field labor therefore wasn't lost for long. Some plantation owners also wanted to keep slave housing insubstantial because they planned eventually to move slaves to other cabins, close to newly-cleared fields.

**F**REDERICK LAW OLMSTED, designer of Central Park in New York City, traveled through the South in 1853 and 1854, and wrote about slave cabins he saw in South Carolina: "It was a very large plantation, and all the buildings were substantial and commodious, except the negro-cabins, which were the smallest I had seen—I thought not more than twelve feet square interiorly.

They stood in two rows, with a wide street between them. They were built of logs, with no windows—no opening at all, except the doorway, with no trees about them, or porches, or shades of any kind."

Carrie Hudson, a slave on Joseph (Squire) Rucker's plantation in Elbert County, explained that slave children usually slept on floor pallets. Adults used a bed made of poles nailed into the wall and floor. The bed was fitted with crosswise planks and a coarse cloth tick filled with wheat straw for the mattress.

Their clothes were often equally substandard and quickly showed the effects of their wearers' toil. Olmsted described how women field hands were dressed: "—coarse gray gowns, generally very much burned and dirty; which, for greater convenience of working in the mud, were reefed up with a cord drawn tightly about the body, a little above the hips—the spare amount of skirt bagging out between this and the waist proper. On their legs were loose leggins or pieces of blanket or bagging wrapped about, and lashed with thongs; and they wore very heavy shoes. Most of them had handkerchiefs, only tied around their heads; some wore men's caps, or old slouched hats, and several were bareheaded."

As their title implied, slaves existed solely to do the work of masters, but for luckier ones there were moments of pleasure derived from the company of other slaves and during the festivities some slaveholders occasionally allowed. Most field hands worked six days a week with Sundays off for rest and religious services generally encouraged by masters.

Slaves celebrated the holiday by visiting one another's cabins, but when New Year's Day arrived they returned to work. Other pleasurable activities Carrie Hudson recounted were corn shuckings and cotton picking by torch light on fall nights, after which slaves were permitted to dance and eat well. Log rollings were her favorite, however, and again were marked by music, food, and also whiskey in kegs. Her master organized and provisioned those events, and even gave a prize to the hand who picked the most cotton.

In cold months, when there was less field work, slaves sometimes were allowed to arrange for themselves quilting parties with sewing, food, and drink.

**W**HILE THESE FEW indulgences may have eased their lot somewhat, the fact remained that slaves were prisoners in a labor camp. Most were rarely allowed to leave their masters' land, but if they were granted permission they were often required to carry passes attesting to their owners' intentions allowing them to go. These permits could be demanded by groups of White enforcers, called the "Patrol," that existed throughout the South. The Patrol tried to prevent slave escape and rebellion, and punished those caught with whippings and hangings.

Slaves eventually outnumbered Whites, who compensated for the difference by any method of subjugation they considered useful. As Austin Steward explained: "No slave could possibly escape being punished—I care not how attentive they might be, nor how industrious—punished they must be, and punished they certainly were."

For further information, contact the NPS Interagency Archeological Services Division, Southeast Region, 75 Spring St., SW, Atlanta, GA 30303, phone: (404) 331-2629; fax: (404) 331-2654.

# Out of the Classroom, Into the Field

CRAIG M. STURDEVANT

**A**T MISSOURI'S Lincoln University, a historically black college where I teach, it's difficult to interest students in American archeology. With a few notable exceptions, the archeology of African Americans has not commanded much attention in the discipline, which largely deals with the traditions of prehistoric Native Americans. Most of the published work is limited in scope, focusing on slavery and the pre-Civil War period.

Without losing sight of American archeology's basic elements (artifacts, features, complexes, settlement patterns), I decided to do something about that—by taking my students out of the classroom and into the field. The result not only stirred their enthusiasm, but promises to foster the study of a little-known chapter of Missouri's African American history.

On the eve of the Civil War, slavery was tearing apart the state's social fabric. Missouri, a slave state bordering free states to the north, was home to both pro- and anti-slavery factions. At the same time, it was a crossroads for escaped slaves and free blacks trying to get to the undeveloped western territories.

While many African Americans passed through on their way to a hoped-for better life, a large number stayed. From the 1840s through the 1920s, hundreds of small black communities developed that lasted for generations. These hamlets generally included a church, a cemetery, and sometimes a school.

As could be expected, these communities, usually made up of from five to fifty households, kept a low profile in the often hostile surroundings. After 1879, there are accounts that some were burned down, with their residents dispersed or murdered.

Beginning in the 1920s, the hamlets began to rapidly disappear, with probably fewer than 10 left in the state by the 1940s. Today, although the towns no longer exist, many churches and cemeteries remain, and people drive long distances on a regular basis to attend services.

Given this scenario, archeological questions are plentiful. How did the communities develop in the first place?

Why did the people stay in a slave state? What were the houses like? Where were they in relationship to outbuildings? Were they visible from public roads? How far were they from white communities? How self-sufficient were the residents? How did their material culture compare to that of their rural white neighbors? And, most importantly, what happened to them?

These were the questions facing students in the course I developed. No text was available but a wealth of information lay within a 10-mile radius of the university.

Three major sources—written archives, oral history, and archeological data—were brought together to discover what happened to the hamlets. Probate files and census records allowed a quick means of identifying concentrations of residents as well as 10-year shifts. Interviews with elder African Americans who had lived there led to an understanding of the vibrancy of these communities and added a human touch not often felt in archeology (one 93-year-old man,



Lincoln University students measured the remains of shotgun houses like this one that African Americans built in Missouri after the Civil War. The shotgun house, with its narrow 12-foot width, may trace its lineage to Africa. Courtesy Craig Sturdevant.

who lives in a trailer in the remnants of a community called "The Ridge," cares for a nearby church built in 1878).

**T**HUS FAR, archeological data have come from observations and measurements of a few partially extant houses, foundations, cemeteries, and outbuildings. The project's next phase will map structures that are no longer visible. After excavation, students will develop a framework for the information.

Although still in its infancy, the project has dramatically increased student interest in archeology. They are still reporting in with additional maps and measurements and information from archives and oral accounts. These techniques for adding non-material dimensions, in a field often confined to evidence from artifacts, have made a lasting mark on the project, not to mention the history of the state.

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# In Search of a Lost Colony

BEVERLY E. BASTIAN AND WILLIAM E. RUTTER

**I**N THE REMOTE reaches of Michigan's upper peninsula, it's easy to assume that black history is something that happened somewhere else. That assumption would be wrong.

In May 1926, apparently lured by an unscrupulous land agent for a large lumber company, a group of African American families from Chicago settled an abandoned logging camp at Elmwood in Iron County. The black Chicagoans had been enticed with the opportunity to buy 20 acres of agricultural land with profits from pulpwood cleared off the plots to be farmed. What they didn't know was that pulpwood, the last, lowest grade timber remaining after pine and hardwood are logged, would not provide them with a living, let alone profits to pay for the property, which was unsuitable for agriculture. Nor did they know they would be coming to a severe climate.

When archeologists arrived on the scene in 1986—in advance of a planned highway through what is now Forest Service land—they came upon the charred remains of the camp, long overgrown with weeds. Where the settlers went was a mystery.

Even as the archeologists excavated the site, they sifted through local newspaper archives and launched a search for the survivors. Slowly, as their investigation yielded the outlines of the story, the archeologists discovered that the dig was contradicting their other sources of information.

## A Clash of Cultures

The newspapers of the time generally paint a slanted and sometimes lurid picture of the episode. The established community, all white, was hostile to the settlers from the outset. Protests were raised before they even moved in, and people expressed concern that the blacks would become county charges. When the first family arrived,



**In the 1920s, a land agent lured a group of African Americans to “farm” played-out timber property in upper Michigan. This is how the site looked when archeologists arrived in the late 1980s. All photos courtesy Mark Hill.**

the county sheriff paid a visit, reporting to the press that they had money, that they were satisfied with their land purchase, and that they resented the interference of the authorities.

Quite a different story emerged in the *Iron River Reporter* of January 21, 1927. Under the headline “Rigors of Winter Driving Negro Colony Out of County,” an account is given of a visit by the superintendent of the poor, Carl Sholander, to the cabin of the A. N. Williams family. Sholander's visit followed a letter by Mrs. Williams to the county clerk asking for food and money to return to Chicago. The family was awaiting payment for a shipment of pulpwood, which the land company had apparently held back as an installment on the property. The Williams house was described as a “flimsy shack,” with the four children

“gaunt and undernourished” and the family “drawing upon its last food reserves” and “wholly discouraged by the outcome of plans which they once believed would bring them a comfortable living and the opportunity to acquire tracts of valuable land in a pioneer district.” Mrs. Williams was quoted as saying “We can't live in this country; we are not adapted to it.” Sholander expressed the opinion that the other 20 African Americans would soon follow the Williams family back to Chicago and that “the colony was not inclined to shift for itself and that there was evidence of laziness.”

The January 27 *Diamond Drill* reported that during the previous summer the men of the settlement had cut a boxcar load of pulpwood and then ceased work to wait for payment. Sholander was quoted as saying that



only one of the cabins had enough wood for the night and that “there was plenty of wood about, down and standing timber, but the men were averse to the exertion of cutting it. They would go out on occasion and rip a board or splice a splint off one of the old buildings for fuel.” An elderly black woman’s expressions of loss and resentment were rendered in dialect, in a portrayal reminiscent of the Steppin’ Fetchit film character (the woman, Bessie Carter, was eventually sent back to Chicago). The article also reported the county’s intent to expedite removal of the African Americans, to the relief of officials; the rest of the settlement, said the article, was to be sent back in a few days.

About a year later, on January 6, 1928, the *Diamond Drill* offered a story on Sheriff Dickey’s arrest of the remaining settlers on charges of “trafficking [sic] in illicit liquor.” All but two were later released on bond; John Henderson—called “King of the Colony” in the paper—was held in the county jail along with one other black man. The raid apparently did not drive out everyone because later that year the December 4 *Reporter* covered the arrest of six settlers, again for liquor violations. The article said these were the last of the lot, noting that most had been sent back to Chicago the previous winter after county officials found them starving. The African Americans were said to be unaccustomed to the conditions of the north and so “had turned to less difficult means of making a living . . . supporting themselves on the revenue they have received from their moonshine and wine sales.”

The blacks would be given a chance to return to Chicago “in order to rid the county of the trouble which they have made here.” The article continued, “Bessie Carter is the only one who seriously objected and her refusals were made on the grounds that several prominent men from Iron River owe her money for moonshine . . . No doubt if some settlement is arranged by the men to whom she has given credit, she would be glad to go back.”



Artifacts found at Elmwood, site of one of several land scams in upper Michigan during the 1920s whose victims were usually urban dwellers and often African Americans.

In describing the arraignment and quoting the defendants, the *Diamond Drill* of December 14 created a picture of the African Americans as simple-minded and venal. Only two charged with the least serious crimes were apparently offered the option to leave and have charges dropped. The other five were bound over to circuit court and held in jail until February. An article from January 25, 1929, said that only three blacks were left and that the colony was “virtually extinct due to the efforts of Superintendent of the Poor, Carl Sholander and Sheriff James A. Dickey.” Eventually, all the African Americans were tried and paroled—some with fines—and returned to Chicago.

In telling the story, both the *Reporter* and the *Diamond Drill* seem wholly accepting of the fact that Iron County authorities were using Prohibition laws to remove the settlers. There were many other arrests for liquor law violations at the time, and although most whites were convicted too, not one of the judgments included a train ticket out of the state. Then there was the possibility that the settlers had been framed.

Eventually, says a local old timer, the game warden burned the camp to keep poachers out. But even as the charred site was being excavated, the archeolo-

gists succeeded in finding two of the survivors to tell their side of the story.

## The Survivors Speak

The interviews with the former settlers were typical for an historical study, evidencing conflicting particulars, faulty recall, errors of omission, and biases. Nonetheless, the interview method offered distinct advantages: human richness and immediacy, the chance to ask exact questions, and the possibility of insights not available any other way.

Josephus Keeble, 76, was arrested for moonshining when he was 17 along with his minister father and most of the other African Americans at Elmwood in late 1928. He and his younger sister, Ethel Rogers, now live in Chicago.

Their picture of camp life is quite different from the accounts in the newspapers. The Keebles lived across the river from the settlement proper. The younger children did not fraternize with the camp residents, socializing instead with another black family close by. Rogers, who was seven or eight years old at the time, knew more about her own family and these neighbors, but Keeble worked at a store in one of the camp buildings, living in a room to the rear, and so was familiar

with the people and activities of the camp.

He says that his father, E.C. Keeble, was persuaded to leave his rural Missouri farm by a boyhood friend, John Williams, who owned a large restaurant in Chicago. The Keeble family left Missouri in the winter and stayed for a short time with Williams before traveling to Elmwood in the early spring. Ellen thinks that Williams was involved in Chicago real estate and owned a lot of land in Michigan. The siblings did not know what the arrangement was between their father and Williams, only that he was bitter about what happened and refused to talk about it. Their father explained that they had returned to Chicago because of the poor schools in Michigan. He never spoke to Williams again.

For the journey to Elmwood, they traveled in a three-car caravan, stop-

The family had experienced snowy winters in Missouri, and the siblings don't remember minding the Michigan cold. They had warm clothing and their father cut firewood for the cabin stove. They didn't use boards from abandoned buildings for heat and they didn't need to seek help from friends in Chicago to weather the winter.

The Keebles were at Elmwood for just short of a year. The reasons they left are unknown, but Rogers thinks it was not because of the cold or the hard lifestyle but because of the betrayal their father felt towards Williams. The elder Keeble was never paid for the pulpwood he cut and shipped by boxcar.

Williams owned and operated the store where the younger Keeble worked, and behind which he stayed. Williams drove his 1925 or '26 Chrysler back and forth to Chicago to get

wood on the boxcars. Rogers had a cat; their neighbors had dogs and a milk cow. The camp residents had chickens and their father hunted deer. Many people fished in the river.

Keeble remembers going into town to Saturday-night dances and to stores. The merchants of Iron River accepted the blacks as customers and did not harass them. At Christmas, Rogers recalls her father cutting trees to sell. Her family decorated their tree with popcorn strings (Mrs. Keeble grew her own popcorn) and with paper chains made of pages from a Sears, Roebuck catalog.

Recognizing an opportunity, their father had an idea for a hunting lodge or summer resort at Elmwood. Many white deer hunters and fisherman frequented the area, which had a reputation among sportsmen.

But the liquor arrests brought an end to the family's plans.

Keeble asserts that the settlers did not make or sell alcohol. Some used moonshine, he says, but they got it from whites. After being arrested at the store (Williams was charged with keeping a place where intoxicating liquors were sold and Keeble was charged as his bartender) he remembers being held in jail for about two months. When he was released and returned to Elmwood, he found a white family living in the Keeble's cabin. Lacking money to pay his fine, he got on the train to Chicago to rejoin his family.



**The remains of the black settlers (such as these) contrasted sharply with those of the white loggers who earlier occupied the site.**

ping at a hotel for a week where they bought household goods. They did not bring tools, but purchased axes, saws, and other things when they got to Elmwood. Williams had told them they would have a house to live in; when they arrived, there were log cabins habitable without additional work, two on the north side of the river and five, Rogers remembers, "like a little country village" on the south.

flour, cheese, bread, and other stock. Keeble minded the store while he was away, which apparently was often. Food was his only pay.

The Keebles had a garden, as did all the black families, who also had experience as farmers. Their mother canned food from the garden and stored rutabagas in a root cellar. The youngsters raised rabbits and Keeble remembers using horses to load pulp-

## The Dig Tells Its Story

Meanwhile, the charred site was yielding its own perspective on the story. The remains of the settlement's earlier life as a logging camp provided an informative contrast to evidence left by the African Americans.

Although the site does not show how well the settlers fared in the harsh Michigan winters, a picture does emerge. Artifact deposits from the time include material goods that, far from being limited and strictly utilitarian, are richly diverse and occasionally ornamental, even "frivolous." Dietary evidence suggests that the African Americans ate wild food, implying that they were suffi-



ciently adapted to exploit the local environment.

The loggers, by contrast, used many canned goods and beef and pork supplied already butchered. Despite the rules against alcohol in logging camps, liquor bottles were recovered from the period, as were patent medicine bottles containing the substance.

There was a difference in refuse disposal between the two groups. The loggers dumped their trash on the ground in a clearing beyond the camp, while the settlers deposited theirs in holes among the buildings.

It is a matter of most fortunate circumstance that the brief time between the logging operation and the black settlement coincided with the spread in the mass production and marketing of material goods following World War I. This made it fairly easy to distinguish between the artifact deposits of the two groups. It is also very fortunate that most of the pioneering blacks were relatively sophisticated urban dwellers who brought their modern possessions including cars and electrical appliances.

Of course, the remains of a large group of men devoting most of their time to one specialized task, logging, is bound to contrast with the remains of several families each involved in a variety of activities. Automobile parts, appliances, and women's and children's possessions obviously dated from the settlement. It is ironic that the African Americans' more sophisticated and diverse material culture distinguished them from their white predecessors and, one can speculate, from their white neighbors as well.

No distinctively "black" artifacts were found, with one possible exception—a McBrady's Hair Pomade jar lid. The product may have been used by a black woman who desired the kind of flowing, wavy hair shown on the white woman whose likeness embellishes the lid. It is likely that the ready availability of a diverse range of goods to all Americans in the 1920s, especially to urban dwellers, largely obscured ethnic differences in the ownership and use of material things, making black and white domestic re-

mains all but impossible to distinguish in the absence of other information.

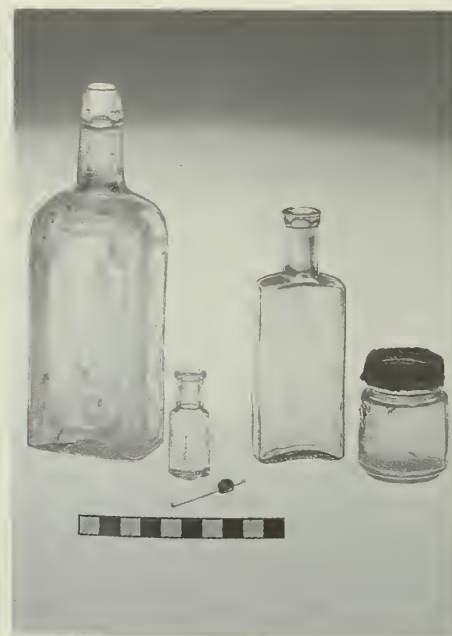
Given this evidence, it seems likely that the local newspapers greatly exaggerated the plight of the settlers in order to justify their expulsion and to reinforce the local lore that blacks could not bear the cold winters. It is certainly possible that some families fared badly. However, it is difficult to believe that those who were doing well, like the Keebles, did not help them. This is especially true considering that these people almost certainly knew each other from living in the same Chicago neighborhood and must have had some sense of community because of their isolation at Elmwood.

The moonshining issue is murkier. The newspapers quote Bessie Carter incriminating herself about being owed money for liquor sold on credit. The papers also report that evidence in the form of wine and liquor was seized by the sheriff and presented in court.

What the archeologists discovered lends support to this story. A large cache of refillable '20s-era bottles was found in the foundation of a building, in a place that was probably only accessible through the floorboards above. Although there may have been a perfectly good reason to build a trap door and painstakingly hide bottles under the floor of a residence, the evidence is strong that the containers were to be filled with liquor.

In another foundation, more evidence showed up in the form of a large double boiler up-ended in a fire pit dug in a dirt floor. An area museum identifies a similar boiler as an apparatus used in logging camps to distill liquor. Pieces of copper tubing were scattered about the foundation. Explanations can be offered, but again it looks like moonshining. Although it is unlikely that whites dug the hole and set up the boiler, it is possible that they salted the tubing at the site.

None of the information conclusively proves that moonshining went on. Keeble steadfastly denies it, although he acknowledges knowing how to make alcohol before he came to Michigan. He says that local whites made and sold it to blacks. An anonymous informant supports Keeble's



**The bottles the archeologists found helped shed light on the mystery.**

statement, saying that whites framed the settlers by planting moonshining paraphernalia for the sheriff to find.

As is usually the case with site-specific historical studies, some mysteries remain. For this project it is doubly frustrating because the events are so recent that it seems like particulars should be easier to discover. The most intractable mystery surrounds the land agent who carried out the scam. The Keebles named Williams, but whomever it was, it's likely he or she was acting for a person or corporation who owned the land. Also, there is no explanation why the newspapers refer to a John Henderson, not John Williams, as the leader of the settlement.

There was no clue to the fate of the other settlers. Presumably they returned to Chicago, but no trace of them could be found.

*This article was adapted from Documentary, Oral Historical, and Phase III Archeological Investigations at Elmwood Logging Camp (201058), Iron County, Michigan, a report written by Beverly E. Bastian, principal investigator, and William E. Rutter, project archeologist, for the Michigan Department of Transportation and State Bureau of History. Provided courtesy of Mark Hill, forest archeologist, U.S. Forest Service, Ottawa National Forest, 2100 E. Cloverland Dr., Ironwood, MI 49938, phone: (906) 932-1330, fax: (906) 932-0122.*

# Musings on a Dream Deferred

WARREN T. D. BARBOUR

**A**FTER 125 YEARS of American archeology as an organized discipline, there are less than five African Americans who hold PhDs in the field. Within the Association of Black Anthropologists, an adjunct of the American Anthropological Association, only two members identify themselves as archeologists.

Why are these numbers so low? The reasons are complex. But for me, the first African American archeologist, these complexities converged powerfully on a plot of land along Broadway in lower Manhattan that had been covered up for two centuries: the African Burial Ground, now a National Historic Landmark, where I worked for nearly two years.

Thinking back over the three decades of my career, I have come to the conclusion that there is no conspiracy behind these small figures. Rather, they arise from the history of archeology as a discipline combined with the aspirations of my ancestors since their involuntary arrival to this country.

As an African American of a middle class background, my own experience is most likely not unusual and is in some ways illustrative. My family was aghast when I decided on archeology as a career. I was expected to enter one of the traditional middle class black professions that my aunts, uncles, father, stepfather, and assorted other relatives had chosen, such as lawyer, doctor, minister, or funeral director.

Grandfather Barbour, a Baptist minister, was the first to encourage my decision. When my physician stepfather told him that he should give me the same advice he had offered his own children, my grandfather interrupted sharply with, "The reason you have sons and daughters who are doctors and lawyers is so your grandchildren can be archeologists. Leave the kid alone."

Middle class families like mine, when envisioning something better for

their children, embraced the American values of status and money along with the professions that would deliver them. This was to be expected. For the first time, given the slowly retreating social and economic barriers of the era, more of their children could enter these professions. But few pursued careers in archeology.

The history of the discipline had its own part to play here. For its first 75 years or so, until 1946, American archeology largely excluded not only African Americans but anyone without an independent income. There is an anecdote about a young graduate student in the post World War II era—at Harvard on the GI Bill—who approached a professor of Old World archeology about financial aid to continue his studies. The professor looked at him gravely, paused, then leaned forward and said "I hate to tell you this young man, but you are just going to have to dip into capital!"

**T**HIS STORY COINCIDES with two major changes that led to the opening up of archeology to African Americans. First, many of the WPA projects in the 1930s exposed broader segments of America's social classes to archeology in the nation's parks and forests. Second, the GI Bill allowed these people to attend college and become exposed to the discipline. (Even still, archeology today is not systematically taught in high school, reinforcing the popular vision of the field as arcane and esoteric.)

From these World War II veterans came most of the first archeologists without independent wealth. Today, many of them are starting to retire. They trained a second generation who, while relying financially on archeology as a career, occupied traditional positions in academic departments and museums.

This is the milieu in which I made my career choice and the reason my

family was so upset. My prospects hinged on occupying one of these few academic or museum jobs.

**I**N MY EARLY CAREER, several archeologists of the old school discouraged me from going into the field. I wonder how many other African Americans had met the same discouragement. Among my generation of archeologists, there were no African American role models like Dr. Montague Cobb, a physical anthropologist trained at Case Western. Cobb had earned a reputation fighting racist views of all kinds, especially those linking the head shapes and facial features of African Americans to types of crimes.

Eventually, my graduate research took me to highland Mexico, where I found no prejudice in years of fieldwork with Mexican colleagues. In fact, it was an inspiration to me that Remi Bastien, an archeologist with a Haitian background, had earlier excavated at the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, the focus of my research. Perhaps had I not been there I would have met the racial barriers encountered by my peers in the United States, where the next major change in archeology was exerting a powerful effect on the profession.

Some 20 years after the GI Bill, Congress began to pass stricter preservation laws and gradually more rigorously enforce them. This not only had the direct effect of increasing the number of archeologists, but accelerated the clock that led government agencies, the discipline, and African Americans to come together on that piece of land in lower Manhattan.

By 1975 a situation unheard of in the history of archeology had occurred. The demand for archeologists far outstripped the supply. A wide variety of construction projects suddenly required archeological investigation and mitigation of impacts on sites.



Overnight bright scholars competing for a dwindling number of academic posts could provide a much needed service and earn a living as well. For the first time, there was an applied branch of archaeology, which gained teeth from the growing popular concern with the environment. Government agencies were willing to ensure that the nation's culture would not be lost to future generations.

By the early '80s, African American archaeology was a sub-field of historic archaeology. While excavations covered most of the East Coast, including New England's "Black Lucy's Garden" and "Parting Ways" sites, the field became identified with the greater number of digs in the South, such as Kingsley Plantation, which focused on the lives of slaves. In 1983, Theresa Singleton became the second African American archaeologist, with a PhD specializing in this work.

But it was only a matter of time before a major African American site in the north would be impacted by government building, mandating investigation.

**I**N 1991 AND '92, the Manhattan cemetery where I would soon work became the focus of national attention, forcing a complex confrontation between government agencies—notably the General Services Administration (which was digging an office tower foundation there), the New York Landmarks Commission, and the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation—and the field of CRM, New York's African American community, and ultimately concerned citizens across the country.

One has only to look at the four-inch pile of newspaper clips GSA sent me when I joined the project, or the two drawers of documents in my study, to realize the importance of the site. It came home to me when I gave a talk at a Buffalo museum on a bitter, snowy February evening. Over 115 people showed up, half of them African Americans. One of the curators was excited that this many African Americans were there. It made him aware how few routinely visited.

The excavation of New York's colonial Africans enraged the city's African American community. The debate pressured Congress into hearings on



Excavating Manhattan's 18th century African burial ground. Courtesy Warren Barbour.

the project. A national steering committee was appointed from a wide range of professionals and community members, which had a stormy but productive effect.

Many in the community were adamant about not having "research" performed on the skeletal remains. At one point those who were keeping tabs on work at the site started asking "Aren't there any of 'us' who have the skill to do the research if it has to be done?"

The answer was yes, and with the appointment of Dr. Michael Blakey as scientific director (with myself as associate), the relationship with the community changed forever. Blakey, a noted physical anthropologist from Howard University in Washington, DC, was able to communicate the importance of letting these African ancestors speak. Research became not a cold scientific word, but rather a tool for those whose death went largely unrecorded to tell how they lived.

Today, all of the remains have been carefully and respectfully transported to Howard, where specialists from all over the world will help the

almost 400 individuals tell their stories. When the artifacts, features, and architecture related to this project are finally analyzed, not only will the history of colonial New York unfold, but also the story of how the cemetery functioned, how it was covered up, and how it reemerged not only as a icon for the struggle of African Americans but as a symbol of their direct involvement in the recovery and preservation of their past. For me and other African American archaeologists to follow, this can only enrich my chosen profession.

*Warren T. D. Barbour is associate scientific director of the African Burial Ground Project at Foley Square, New York. He is also associate professor of anthropology and archaeology at SUNY Buffalo, where he has been instrumental in launching a graduate scholarship program to increase minority PhDs in archaeology. Barbour received his doctorate in anthropology, with a specialty in Meso-American archaeology, from the University of Rochester in 1976. Phone/fax: (716) 883-1297.*

# News and Notes

## U.S. Environmental Institute May Employ Archeology

Archeologists could play a role in the proposed National Institute for the Environment, according to a 99-page plan being studied by Congress.

Among other objectives, the institute would spearhead research to "develop fundamental knowledge of past human impacts on the environment."

Representatives from many disciplines informed the plan—developed by the Committee for the National Institute for the Environment—including anthropologist Roy Rappaport and archeologists Carole Crumley and Ruthann Knudson. A bill to create the institute, introduced last summer to the U.S. House of Representatives as H.R. 2918, now has 62 cosponsors. Hearings on the legislation are underway.

The institute, an independent entity whose proposed mission is improving the scientific basis for environmental decision making, would be developed as the nation's foremost authority on the subject. It would sponsor education and training as well as research.

Although the bill does not detail the institute's structure, it does call for a multi-sector governing board—chaired by users of scientific information as well as scientists—and an advisory group to encourage cooperation with other government agencies. Funding and other specifics, to be fleshed out in the hearing process, will be added when the House science committee votes on the bill, probably in the spring.

For more information, contact the Committee for the National Institute for the Environment, 730 11th St., NW, Washington, DC 20001, phone: (202) 628-4303.

## Guarding the Grand Canyon

To protect the Grand Canyon's environment and archeological sites, the

Bureau of Reclamation is recommending that northern Arizona's Glen Canyon Dam restrict water flow to the present limits, set in 1991. Reclamation commissioner Daniel Beard, call-



Looking upstream at Glen Canyon Dam. Bureau of Reclamation photo by F.S. Finch.

ing the plan a "turning point" in managing the Colorado River, says it will be key to safeguarding the Grand Canyon, just downstream from the dam. Reclamation says the proposal, which limits the dam's flexibility in generating energy, means that other power plants will need to be built "five to ten years sooner than would otherwise have been necessary."

The 710-foot-tall dam, erected in 1964 before mandated environmental reviews, changed the pattern of sediment deposits, erosion, and flooding throughout both canyons. Archeological sites once protected by sandbars and terraces have become increasingly exposed to erosion by wind, rain, and the river.

The Colorado and its environs are considered sacred by Native Americans. Many of the sites are Native American traditional cultural properties, ranging from shrines to places where minerals are collected. These re-

sources relate to traditions dating from approximately 2500 BC to today.

There are over 400 known prehistoric and historic sites in the area, although Native Americans sometimes keep the locations of sacred sites a secret from outsiders.

The Hopi, the Havasupai, the Hualapai, and the Navajo Nation—all tribes with land interests in the area—were represented on the interagency team that crafted the proposal. Representatives from Reclamation, the Park Service, Fish and Wildlife, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the Western Area Power Administration rounded out the group.

Environmentalists have applauded the plan, one of several alternatives considered. However, the proposal notes that "impacts on archeological sites related to the existence—rather than the operation—of the dam would continue regardless of alternative flow patterns."

## Northern Exposure for Smithsonian

The Smithsonian Institution is going north to Alaska with its first permanent field office, which opens its doors in April at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art.

The Institution's 150 years of ethnographic and archeological work in the region played no small part of the decision, says William Fitzhugh, director of the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center. The center moves from Washington, DC, to Anchorage as the core of the new office.

The idea for an Alaska branch has been gaining steam since the center's founding in 1988. And with the fall of the Soviet Union and increased cooperation with former Soviet republics, "Washington has turned out to be peripheral to the action in a lot of ways," Fitzhugh says. "Just from a logistical standpoint you can see why almost all



Federal offices maintain large branches in Alaska."

Indigenous peoples' increasing interest in repatriation was another reason, he says. "We take a strong view of the center as having a real role, not just in physical repatriation, which is ongoing, but in a new concept of repatriation where museums and scholars make available their knowledge and collections on a local level."

Fitzhugh calls the agreement with the Alaska museum "a perfect marriage," citing its exhibition space and facilities and the Smithsonian's curatorial staff and collections. Initially, his will be a one-person office, but Fitzhugh plans to raise funds for a new museum wing in the next few years.

### **Trust Promotes Awareness on Defense Lands**

The National Trust for Historic Preservation plans to promote public awareness of archeological and historic sites on Department of Defense lands, about 25 million acres in the United States. "There are resources within these lands that are irreplaceable and significant to all Americans," says Elizabeth Calvit, national coordinator of the Trust initiative, "including historic structures, archeological sites, and Native American traditional properties." To preserve this rich range of resources, regional coordinators will work with installations to create or strengthen partnerships with local communities.

The initiative began in 1992 with a cooperative agreement between the Trust and the Department of Defense funded by the Legacy Resource Management Program, created by Congress in 1991 to "promote, manage, research, conserve, and restore the priceless biological, geophysical, and historic resources which exist on public lands, facilities, or property held by the Department of Defense." The agreement's intent is to foster cooperation among bases, preservation groups, and community organizations.

## **How to Access the National Archeological Database**

These are the correct addresses for accessing NADB:

### **Via Internet**

To access NADB through Internet, follow this protocol:  
telnet cast.uark.edu  
or  
telnet 130.184.75.44

### **Via Modem**

The settings for accessing NADB by modem are:  
Parity: None  
Data bits: 8  
Stop bits: 1  
Telephone #: (501) 575-2021

### **User's Note**

The NADB System went offline on February 4 due to security problems affecting Internet across the country. The Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies corrected potential risks to NADB, which came back online on February 10. A big thanks to CAST for the hard work in enhancing and maintaining user access.

The first coordinator, in the Rocky Mountain/Great Plains region, was so successful that regional coordinators were hired in the West and South as well. Calvit took on the role of national coordinator at the Trust's Washington headquarters.

Their job, she says, is to "facilitate, through awareness, outreach, and training, the need to continue the stewardship of cultural resources" on the installations. The coordinators plan to distribute packets on archeology and education, supplied by the National Park Service, to bases in states that sponsor an annual archeology week.

For more information, call the coordinator in your region: Debra Rhoad (AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN), phone: (803) 722-8552, fax: (803) 722-8652; Karen Waddell (CO, KS, MT, NB, ND, NM, SD, OK, TX, WY), phone: (303) 623-1504, fax: (303) 623-1508; or Elizabeth Johnson (AK, AZ, CA, HI, ID, NV, OR, UT, WA, Guam, and Micronesia), phone: (415) 956-0610, fax: (415) 956-0837. For states not listed, please contact national coordinator Elizabeth Calvit,

phone: (202) 673-4107, fax: (202) 673-4223.

### **Comer Gets Fulbright**

Douglas Comer, chief of the National Park Service Eastern Applied Archeology Center, has been awarded a Fulbright grant to lecture and consult in Thailand. He is one of over 900 U.S. academics, professionals, and independent scholars who have received Fulbright awards for work abroad in 1993-94.

Comer's office conducts archeological and historical research to support planning and design projects. Located in Silver Spring, MD, it has participated in restoration projects at Ellis Island, Gettysburg National Battlefield, Salem Maritime National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, Saint Gaudens National Park, Valley Forge, Springfield Armory, Faneuil Hall, Old Boston State House, and many other National Park areas.

In Thailand, Comer will be working with the Office of the National Culture Commission to organize training for archeologists that emphasizes archeology's contribution to sustainable de-

sign, recently recognized by the Park Service as a guiding principle. Sustainable design, for either new construction or restoration, holds paramount the preservation of cultural and natural resources.

The Fulbright program is administered by the U.S. Information Agency under guidelines established by the presidentially appointed J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board and in cooperation with a number of private organizations. Scholarships are awarded through open competition, with final selection made by the Foreign Exchange Board. Thirty foreign governments share in the funding.

### Airborne Archeology

Jim Walker, an expert in photographing archeological sites from model aircraft, will share his 13 years of experience this June at a workshop sponsored by San Juan College in Farmington, NM. Walker will discuss the theory as well as the practice of low altitude, large scale reconnaissance: constructing aircraft and flight training; interpreting photographs; and employing the technique for a wide range of applications.

The technique is a cost-effective means of gathering high resolution images of sites. Walker has taught hundreds of students how to use the method to record archeological and historical properties, map facilities, and monitor water pollution and landfills. The workshop is limited to 12 people.

For more information, contact Dr. Rick Watson, Director, San Juan College Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Systems Laboratory, San Juan College, R/S & GIS Laboratory, 4601 College Blvd., Farmington, NM 87401, phone: (505) 599-0373; fax: (505) 599-0385.

### Grande Boo Boo

Casa Grande National Monument was feeling the weight of the centuries so a helpful editor sent it on a New Mexico vacation in the last *FAR*. We happily report that it has safely returned to Arizona.

## History Unhinged in Southern Maryland

St. Mary's City has flip-flopped the saying "Out with old, in with the new" by supplanting the old with the even older. To reconstruct the era of English occupation in the 1600s, a 19th century plantation house has been shuttled to a potential new life as a bed and breakfast on a bluff overlooking St. Mary's River. Meanwhile, archeologists have had a field day with what was underneath: the remains of the 1635 home of

Leonard Calvert, the state's first governor. After excavation, Calvert's house will arise anew in the heart of the former colony's capital, now a state-run archeological park south of Washington.

"Every historic house has an archeological record associated with it," says Henry Miller, Historic St. Mary's City research director. "All too often it is the architecture which receives all the attention." Situated where

the Potomac flows into the Chesapeake Bay, the fertile site has attracted inhabitants for nearly 10,000 years.

Miller worked with a consultant to move the building without damaging the archeological record. Normally, movers would have dug a line of trenches under the cellarless structure, inserted steel beams, lifted it up, and attached wheels. This time, they skipped the trenches, raising the house with hydraulic jacks before sliding the beams under. Then they mounted the 120-ton, 85-foot-long mansion on aircraft tires for the half-mile trek down MD Route 5, tugged by mini-tank. Wooden matting and timbers distributed the weight over the fragile stratigraphy.

Thanks to the ginger treatment, the archeological deposits survived virtually intact. "We either had to conduct a very difficult and expensive excavation under the standing structure or find another way," Miller says. "With this method, there was almost no disturbance to the soil."

He says there are "150 years of features" linked to the Greek Revival house, built by Dr. John Brome in 1841 as the hub of a 2,000 acre tobacco plantation. A dirt-floor slave quarters, which housed tenants until the 1960s, joined the move. Beneath its floor, archeologists have turned up chunks of lead type, likely from William Nuthead's print shop—the southern colonies' first—which opened in 1684.

The fragments are among "a lot of 17th century artifacts, including pieces of armor and shot" says Joseph Anderson, acting director of St. Mary's. In 1645, during the English civil war, loyalist troops sacked the Catholic capital, ringing the governor's house with a palisade and moat, making it the conflict's only fort on the continent.

Calvert waded ashore with English settlers in 1634. A year later, he built the house at the crossroads of town, which thrived politically. Annapolis became the capital in the late 1600s, sending the city into decline.

Despite the centuries-old layers of history blanketing the site, Miller stresses that the house was moved to re-create the colonial buildings, not to do archeology. The state underwrote the project, which took two years to plan and \$200,000 in construction funds. The plantation house was renovated beforehand for an additional \$300,000, with \$154,000 more to establish it at its new home.



Photo courtesy Perry Thorsvik/Baltimore Sun.



# Archeology Worldwide

## U.S., Other Nations Redraft Policy

In an ongoing effort to stem the tide of illegal trafficking in cultural property, the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT) has drafted a treaty to improve cooperation among countries seeking the return of stolen, illegally exported, and illegally excavated cultural objects.

The treaty was drafted in Rome last October in a meeting of the institute's committee of government experts with representatives of 34 member countries and 15 nonmember states and international organizations. The treaty is expected to be considered in a diplomatic conference in early 1995.

The draft treaty requires greater diligence by those purchasing cultural objects. Under the draft's provisions, a potential purchaser would be wise to consult reasonably available information ahead of time, such as registers of stolen cultural objects and information about the legal excavation of the object.

One section covers illegally excavated archeological objects. Another section, on illegal export, takes into account cases in which a public agency might not have a property interest in an archeological object, but could pursue its return because it had been excavated in violation of Federal, tribal, state, or local law. These aspects of the draft were considered important by the U.S. delegation, which included NPS Departmental Consulting Archeologist Francis P. McManamon.

Once the treaty is final, its implementation by signatory countries will be key. In the United States, this will require an implementing statute, providing an opportunity to strengthen measures for protecting U.S. archeological sites. The U.S. implementation of the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property in 1983 allowed for restricting import of specific kinds of cultural objects but not their export.

## Mideast Conference Pinpoints Problems

Representatives of 15 North African and Middle Eastern countries came together in Cairo late last year to discuss the effect of public policy on cultural heritage preservation. The news was not good.

Sponsored by the United States National Committee of the International Committee for the Conservation of Monuments and Sites, the United States Information Agency, and the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, the conference turned up a troubling pattern that cuts across international borders.

According to the attendees, the management of archeological and other cultural heritage sites often is not well integrated into either surrounding communities or other programs such as economic development and tourism.

Approaches typically focus on traditional methods, usually excavations. Interpretation, resource protection, curation of excavated material and records, and visitor services typically are considered peripheral or another agency's responsibility.

The second troubling aspect was that only a few countries report any strong national program to ensure that archeological investigations and preservation occur in advance of, or in concert with, economic development projects. In one example, a major development project in the shadow of a world heritage site and funded in large part by the United States Agency for International Development only grudgingly provided archeological salvage work. At another project in a similar location, no investigations of any kind were planned.

Worrisome as these examples are, they may represent only the tip of the iceberg. Few countries' programs include systematic consultation with economic planning or development agencies that would lead to the inclusion of archeological or other historic heritage concerns during planning, de-

velopment, or implementation of projects.

Working groups revealed similar problems in the Middle East and North Africa, but economic, cultural, and political conditions are so complex that a variety of solutions are needed. Without exception limited funds, lack of well-trained staff, and inadequate facilities are problems for all. Many also cited poorly implemented policies and procedures.

Perhaps the most immediate positive effect of the symposium was the beginning of a network among individuals and organizations working on heritage management in the region. Long-term benefits can be expected as countries cooperate in devising and implementing solutions to the problems pinpointed by the meeting.

## Underwater Advances

Continuing to build a protection ethic for underwater cultural sites, the International Congress of Maritime Museums has adopted standards for the exploration as well as the acquisition, preservation, and exhibition of artifacts recovered from shipwrecks and other sites.

"Over the past decade, due to the rapid advances in underwater exploration technology, numerous cultural heritage sites have been destroyed," says Richard Foster, ICMC president and director of the National Museums and Galleries of Merseyside, Liverpool, England. "These standards establish additional international guidelines for the protection of these sites."

Specifically, the ICMC resolutions concern professional ethics policies and a greater emphasis on protection efforts including a utilization of students from academic institutions in the study of underwater archeological collections.

For more information, contact Richard Foster, National Museums and Galleries Merseyside, Liverpool Museum, William Brown St., Liverpool L3 8EN, United Kingdom.





# NAGPRA

## Penalties for Museums and Agencies

As an outcome of its Phoenix meeting in January, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Review Committee has recommended a two-stage approach for assessing civil penalties on institutions that fail to comply with NAGPRA regulations.

The Secretary of the Interior, under his authority to assess civil penalties against any institution that fails to prepare summaries or inventories or to repatriate human remains and cultural items, would make an initial assessment based upon a percentage of the institution's annual budget. If necessary, a daily assessment for continued non-compliance would follow.

Museums and Federal agencies should be aware they are in non-compliance with the statute if they have not sent summaries to culturally affiliated Indian tribes.

Also on the agenda of the January 23-25 meeting, co-sponsored by the Heard Museum and the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona, was a review of a draft of the sample inventory to be included in the regulations. The committee recommended that in addition to information regarding accession and catalogue numbers, collection history, description, and evidence of cultural affiliation for each human remain or associated funerary object, additional columns be added to highlight the importance of geographic affiliation and of information gained through consultation with culturally affiliated Indian tribes. Revised drafts of the civil penalties and sample inventory sections will be provided to the committee prior to the next meeting.

Drafts of sections previously reserved for sample Memoranda of Agreement regarding repatriation and inadvertent discovery/intentional excavation were also discussed. The com-

## Fire Wipes Out Tribal Records

On December 8, 1993, a fire swept through the offices of the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, destroying all the council's records except the tribal enrollment roster. Included among the damaged records were all the NAGPRA summaries mailed to the White Mountain Apache as well as copies of all the acknowledgement letters the tribe mailed in return.

According to Joe Waters, a cultural resource manager, the tribe cannot proceed with NAGPRA consultations due to their lack of information. If your museum or agency sent a summary to the White Mountain Apache, even if you received an acknowledgement letter, please mail a copy of the summary as soon as possible to Ronnie Lupe, Chairman, White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, P.O. Box 700, Whiteriver, AZ 85941, phone: (602) 338-4346; fax: (602) 338-4778.

mittee recommended deleting these sections from the regulations and providing them instead as memoranda from the Department of the Interior.

Additionally, the committee unanimously reelected Tessie Naranjo as chair for the coming year.

## Repatriation Summaries Flooding In

Repatriation summaries from 539 institutions and Federal agencies have filled the offices of the archeological assistance division, totaling over 30 linear feet. They range in size from a single page to a six-volume set of four-inch binders.

The mountain of paperwork was submitted in compliance with Section 6 of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which required Federal agencies and museums that receive Federal funds to send summaries of their collections that may contain unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to culturally affiliated Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations by November 16, 1993.

A January 21, 1993, memorandum from the assistant secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks requested that

an additional copy of the summaries be sent to the National Park Service departmental consulting archeologist to facilitate the review committee in monitoring the NAGPRA process.

Of the 539 institutions submitting summaries, 348 are museums, 125 are institutions of higher learning, and 66 are Federal agencies. California led all states with 49 submissions while West Virginia and North Dakota were represented by one institution each. The midwest appears to be tops among regions in number of summaries submitted.

Work is underway to create an online cross-referenced listing of these summaries indicating the sending institution and receiving Indian tribe. Indian tribes should benefit by being able to find out which institutions sent summaries to their own and related Indian tribes. If an Indian tribe's summaries are lost or damaged [see story above], this database will provide a quick method for rectifying the situation.

Museums and Federal agencies should benefit by being able to locate other institutions whose collections contain objects of a certain cultural affiliation. The summary database should be available through the National Archeological Database by early summer.

## Map of Tribes Now Available

As reported in the last *FAR*, the USGS has reprinted a 1978 map showing tracts within the continental United States for which an Indian tribe proved its original tribal occupancy. Unfortunately, the map, titled *Indian Land Areas Judicially Established 1978*, may not have reached USGS Earth Science Information Centers yet. The map is now available from the USGS Denver Distribution Center, phone (303) 236-7477.

## NAGPRA Workshops

Representatives from the archeological assistance division will be conducting workshops on NAGPRA implementation and the related grants program at the following locations:

Society for American Archaeology annual meeting, Anaheim, CA, April 20

American Association of Museums annual meeting, Seattle, WA, April 26

University of Nevada-Reno Continuing Education course, Portland, OR, April 28-30

Keepers of the Treasures annual meeting, Warm Springs, OR, May 2-4

National Congress of American Indians mid-year session, Buffalo, NY, June 14-16 (tentative)

For additional information contact the host organization or Mandy Murphy at the archeological assistance division, phone (202)-343-1095.

## Grant Guidelines

Over 1,200 sets of guidelines for the NAGPRA grant programs were mailed to museums, agencies, and Native groups in late December. Tribal grant program guidelines, with a deadline for applications of March 24, 1994, were sent to 761 Federally recognized Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

Guidelines for the museum program, with a deadline for applications of April 8, were sent to 473 institutions that submitted copies of their summaries to the departmental consulting archeologist. Additional guidelines have been mailed as requested.

## Review Committee Requests Agreements

During the course of discussions at the January meeting (see lead story) the NAGPRA review committee realized the need to examine signed repatriation and excavation/discovery agreements worked out between museums or Federal agencies and Indian tribes as a means of assessing NAGPRA Section 3(c) and (d) implementation progress.

In addition, the committee would like to use the agreements, or portions thereof, as examples for others currently drafting similar agreements. If your organization has a signed agreement covering repatriation, excavation, or discovery of Native American human remains or cultural items, please send a copy to the review committee c/o Tim McKeown at the address listed below.

## Next Meeting Will Develop Regulations

The next meeting of the NAGPRA review committee will be held May 12-14 in Rapid City, SD.

Matters to be discussed include the status of the inventory and identification process conducted under sections 5 and 6 of the statute and the development of implementing regulations, particularly for sections reserved for civil penalties and a sample inventory.

The committee also is soliciting public recommendations regarding three additional sections of the regulations—those dealing with the disposition of unidentified human remains in museum or Federal agency collections; the disposition of unclaimed human remains and cultural items from Federal or Tribal lands; and the future applicability of the statute.

Culturally unidentifiable human remains are those for which, following the completion of inventories by November 16, 1995, no lineal descendants or culturally affiliated Indian tribe has been determined.

Unclaimed human remains and cultural items are those intentionally excavated or inadvertently discovered on Federal or tribal lands after November

16, 1990, for which, after following the process outlined in section 3 of the statute (25 U.S.C. 3002), no lineal descendant or Indian tribe has made a claim.

The committee is expected to continue soliciting such recommendations at future meetings.

## New Staff Enhances Effort

A host of graduate students have helped lighten the load for the NAGPRA program staff of C. Timothy McKeown and Hugh "Sam" Ball in the last year.

Mandy Murphy, a recent graduate of the museum studies program at George Washington University, is currently working on a database that provides cultural and historic information for Federally recognized tribes. On staff since March 1993, Murphy also compiled the comprehensive AAD list of 761 Federally recognized Native American tribes, Alaska Native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

Three National Council for Preservation Education (NCPE) interns also have assisted in the team effort. Jeffrey Nicklason (University of Georgia, Historic Preservation) spent the summer of 1993 maintaining the docket of comments to the proposed regulations. Sylvia Yu (San Francisco State University, Museum Studies) has provided technical assistance since September 1993 and has helped organize training opportunities. Belinda Nettles (Universities of Hawaii and Maryland, American Studies/Historic Preservation) came aboard in December 1993 and is responsible for tracking the flow of summaries sent by museums and Federal agencies.

## Additional Information

For additional information regarding NAGPRA contact C. Timothy McKeown, NAGPRA Program Leader, Archeological Assistance Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127, phone: (202) 343-4101; fax: (202) 523-1547.



# Conferences

## Public Outreach

The general public will have an opportunity to learn some benefits of archaeology and ways to get involved at "Investigating the Mysteries of Time with Archaeology," the Society for American Archaeology's public session at the 1994 SAA meeting. To be held April 23 from 1 to 4 p.m., the session will offer a lecture series with talks by Brian Fagan and Kent Lightfoot as well as exhibits on archaeological projects and programs.

For more information, contact Teresa L. Hoffman, Chair, Public Session Subcommittee, SAA Public Education Committee, phone (602) 870-6769.

## Mid-South's Silver

Twenty-five years ago, the first Mid-South Archaeological Conference was held at Chucalissa Museum in Memphis. In celebration of the quarter century anniversary, "25 Years and More of Archaeology in the Mid-South" is the theme of this year's conference, which is returning to the initial meeting site. Papers of a historical nature or that provide an overview of many years' work in a state or geographic region are being sought. Titles and abstracts must be received by May 1.

For more information or to contribute a paper, contact Mary Kwas, Chucalissa Museum, 1987 Indian Village Dr., Memphis, TN

38109, phone: (901) 785-3160.

## State-of-the-Art Seminar

The latest techniques employed by forensic anthropologists in search of human remains will be presented in a seminar at Mercyhurst College May 23-26. Topics to be covered include: systematic search and site mapping techniques in various terrains, forensic archaeological and house fire excavation techniques, collection of entomological specimens, and forensic osteological and odontological analyses.

For more information, contact Dennis C. Dirkmaat, Mercyhurst College, Department of Anthropology, Glenwood Hills, Erie, PA 16546, phone: (814) 824-2105; fax: (814) 824-2594.

## North of the Border

"Archaeological Remains, In Situ Preservation" is the theme of this year's International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management annual conference to be held Oct. 11-15 in Montreal. Archeologists, managers, and project designers will attempt to develop a dynamic and integrated approach to land management.

For more information, contact Secretariat, ICAHM Montreal 1994, Ville de Montreal, Service

de l'habitation et du développement urbain, 303, rue Notre-Dame Est, 5 etage, Montreal (Quebec), Canada H2Y 3Y8, phone: (514) 872-7531; fax: (514) 872-0024.

## Defending Cultural Resources

The Department of Defense will focus on its Native American cultural resources and aviation heritage at its biennial cul-

tural resources workshop June 5-10 in Pensacola, FL. Workshop sessions will address current topics and provide opportunities to interact with key DoD players.

For further information, contact DoD Cultural Resources Workshop, CEHP, Inc., 1133 20th St., NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036, phone: (202) 293-1774; fax: (202) 293-1782.

# Publications

## Archeological Bulletin

Less than 3 percent of properties on the National Register of Historic Places are recognized for their historical archaeological values. To better represent these resources and to demonstrate the importance of archaeological properties, the National Park Service has published National Register Bulletin No. 36, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archaeological Sites and Districts*.

For a free copy, write National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127.

## Private Protection

As the historic preservation movement has grown in recent years, states and local communities are increasing their interest in protecting the nation's archaeological heritage. In response, the National Park Service has published several strategies for preserving archeologi-

cal sites in the recent *Protecting Sites on Private Lands*, a 122-page book packed with useful information on site protection and the law, land ownership and site acquisition, land-use compatibility, stewardship programs, and community archeology programs.

To request a free copy, write Susan L. Henry, Preservation Planning Branch, Interagency Resources Division, Suite 250, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127.

## Public Possibilities

A comprehensive guide to excavations, field schools, and special programs with openings for volunteers, students, and staff throughout the world is available through the Archaeological Institute of America. The 1994 edition of *Archaeological Fieldwork Opportunities Bulletin*, with over 275 listings, introduces both the student and the amateur

archeologist to the experience of actual excavation or survey. The price is \$8.50 for AIA members and \$10.50 for non-members plus \$3 shipping and handling.

Orders should be sent to Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, Order Department, 2460 Kerper Blvd., Dubuque, IA 52001. Credit card orders phone: (800) 228-0810.

### Guide to Sites

From the temple mounds in Florida's Safe Harbor Site to Alaskan totem poles in Sitka National Historical Park, *America's Ancient Treasures* describes all of the archeological sites that have been designed for public view north of Mexico. This revised and expanded fourth edition profiles museums and collections that interpret America's aboriginal past, enabling present-day visitors to discover the cultural remains of Canada and the United States.

Written by Franklin and Mary Elting Folsom, the book is available from bookstores in both hardcover (\$37.50) and paperback (\$19.95).

### Settling Down

Settlement patterns of 18th and 19th century America are the subject of *Spatial Patterning in Historical Archaeology: Selected Studies of Settlement*, edited by Donald W. Linebaugh and Gary G. Robinson. The book presents recent research into settlement patterning using the research methods of both geography and historical archaeology.

It is available for \$17 plus shipping and handling from Archaeological Publi-

cations, King and Queen Press, P.O. Box 2100, Williamsburg, VA 23187-2100, phone: (804) 221-2580.

### Northeast Conservation

Successful models and practical advice concerning cultural resource management in the northeast are the subject of *Cultural Resource Management: Archaeological Research, Preservation Planning, and Public Education in the Northeastern United States*. The book is divided into four major categories: theoretical and interpretive frameworks, research methodology, legislation and compliance, and creative protection strategies.

Available for \$65 from Greenwood Publishing Group at (800) 225-5800.

### International Journal

A journal reporting new approaches to the long-term preservation and presentation of archeological sites worldwide is reaching the publication stage. *Conservation Management of Archaeological Sites* is devoted to original research and review papers on any aspect of archeological conservation. Personal subscriptions are available for \$60.

To contribute papers, subscribe, or for further information, contact Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites, James & James Science Publishers Ltd., 5 Castle Rd., London NW1 8PR, UK.

### New Newsletters

A pair of newsletters providing progress reports on the archeological assessment of

## New Releases from the National Park Service

The National Park Service has just published technical brief 16, *The Civil Prosecution Process of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act*, by superior court judge Sherry Hutt. The brief serves as a how-to guide on utilizing civil penalties while discussing the background, issues of proof, and procedures of the civil process.

Because of its specialized audience, the brief is only being distributed to a portion of the archeological assistance division mail list. Interested parties who have not received a copy should contact the Publications Team, National Park Service, Archeological Assistance Division, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127.

Since its introduction in 1989, *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* has become the standard reference for preservationists at all levels of government, the private sector, and academia. A new, expanded edition, just published, should prove equally indispensable.

Beginning with the Antiquities Act of 1906, its pages list the key laws enacted by Congress to conserve cultural resources for future generations. The new edition includes recent legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act as well as updates to many other laws.

The laws listed provide the basis for the Federal government's key preservation programs. The National Park Service, which compiled the publication, administers many of these laws in cooperation with state historic preservation offices and local governments.

Compiled by Sara K. Blumenthal, revised by Emogene A. Bevitt. 96 pages, \$3.00 per copy. Available through the Government Printing Office; please note new GPO stock number: 024-005-01124-2.

two important East Coast projects hit the streets with debut issues last fall.

The "Jamestown Archaeological Assessment Newsletter" will chronicle the National Park Service's efforts to evaluate and manage the Virginia island's cultural resources.

The free quarterly publication is available from Gregory J. Brown, Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, P.O. Box 1776, Williamsburg, VA 23187-1776, phone: (804) 220-7335.

"Roanoke Colonies Research Newsletter," sponsored by East Carolina University with help from the National Park Service, will provide a forum for the general public and scholars to keep up with the work at the North Carolina site.

For more information about the project, contact E. Thomson Shields, Jr., East Carolina University, Department of English, Greenville, NC 27858-4353, phone: (919) 757-6715; fax: (919) 757-4889.



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What themes would you like to see in future issues (for example, underwater archeology, NAGPRA and museums)?

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- ☐ Law enforcement agent
- ☐ Cultural resources specialist
- ☐ Tribal officer
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Other Comments**

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